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ABSTRACT

This study is an evaluation of the Berkeley Unified Elementary School District, which was completely desegregated using a strategy of two-way, cross-town bussing. It presents documentation for tentative answers to two fundamental questions: (1) what is to be gained by eliminating dual school systems? And, (2) what is the cost to be paid for desegregation? Of all the factors involved, the most important is Berkeley's attention to the politics of change. The conclusion reached from this study is that the cost of massive school desegregation is not nearly so great as its critics have predicted. (Author/DM)

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A Report by the Program Reference Service

School Desegregation Plan / Berkeley, California

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The Center for Urban Education, an independent nonprofit corporation, was founded in 1965. The following year it was designated a Regional Educational Laboratory under the Cooperative Research Act. It is funded mainly by the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare through the Office of Education, but also contracts with other government agencies, state and local as well as federal, and with business firms and community agencies. The Center designs, field-tests, and disseminates alternatives to the traditional practices of formal education and citizen participation.

Under the direction of its Dissemination Division, the Center publishes a wide variety of reports, monographs, books, and bibliographies. A complete list of those items in print is available on request.

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As a unit of the Dissemination Division, the Program Reference Service identified, examined, and provided information on programs in grades K-6 which deal with the problems of urban school systems. Its reports have been designed to meet the stated needs of school administrators and other educational decision-makers, and are offered as informational aids to effective educational planning. This report was prepared under the direction of Joseph Pincus.

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Chapter One

An Introduction

In the school desegregation debate, few issues are as misunderstood as busing. Every day more than one third of the nation's school children ride buses to school; "the yellow school bus is as much a symbol of American education in 1970 as the little red schoolhouse was in 1900."* Yet, according to a recent Gallup poll, 86 percent of the American people oppose busing as a means of achieving racially balanced schools. In the arguments and counter-arguments during the recent Congressional debates, there was a striking lack of substantial evidence about the impact of busing.

In September, 1968, the elementary schools of the Berkeley Unified School district were completely desegregated, employing a strategy of two-way, cross-town busing. Thus Berkeley became the first American city of its size (in 1968, the population was slightly larger than 120,000) and racial composition (about a 30 percent minority population) to have a totally desegregated school system. This study is an evaluation of that program after three semesters of operation. It presents documentation for tentative answers to two of the fundamental and still largely unanswered questions in the debate over desegregation: what is to be gained by doing away with dual school systems? And what is the cost which must be paid for desegregation?

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*On the Matter of Busing: A Staff Memorandum from the Center for Urban Education. Prepared by Barbara R. Fogel. February 1970.

Of all the factors involved in Berkeley's experience, the most important is its careful attention to the politics of change, the careful preparation of students, teachers, and community. This, rather than the specific logistical plan which was adopted, accounts for the ease with which desegregation was accepted in Berkeley.

The conclusion reached from studying Berkeley's desegregation process is: the cost of massive school desegregation in this community was not nearly so great as its critics and the critics of rapidly enforced desegregation in cities throughout the country have predicted. Busing is being resisted on the grounds that it can be accomplished only at the cost of undermining public confidence in the schools; that it will cause achievement deficits; that its costs in time and money make it unfeasible; that it will cause a massive exodus of whites from the schools and the community; and that it will introduce black children into educationally racist classrooms. There is no evidence that any of these have happened in Berkeley. For all of its unique characteristics as a community, Berkeley's experience with two-way busing is important to cities throughout the country which are concerned about finding a strategy to end racial imbalance in the schools.

—*Keith Melville*
June 1970

Chapter Two

The Context of Change: Berkeley and its Schools

A description of the community—Population composition and stability—The relevance of Berkeley's experience—A portrait of the school system—The pattern of de facto segregation.

A description of the community

Berkeley is a medium-sized city with a population slightly larger than 120,000 in the East Bay section of metropolitan San Francisco. A hybrid city-suburb, the population includes a stable and substantial number of executives and professionals; more than 30,000 blacks; the student population of the University of California; many elderly and retired persons; and a sizable Oriental population. If Berkeley's poor are not as impoverished as the slum-dwellers of Los Angeles or New York City, the city still represents nearly the whole spectrum of socioeconomic types; and if parts of the city are convincingly suburban, Berkeley still has most of the characteristic urban problems.

Population composition and stability

Berkeley's topography conveniently corresponds to the three distinct social strata of the community. Berkeley's "Hills" comprise its well educated business and professional population, many of whom are employed by the city's major industry—and its most visible one—the University of California. Most of the black population is concentrated in the "Flats" to the west, near the city's more than three hundred industries. In income and in education, the residents of the "Flats" constitute Berkeley's disadvantaged class. In between, both geographically and in terms of social class, are the "Foothills" which comprise the downtown section, and contain, in addition to students, a heterogeneous population of Orientals, whites, and blacks. Berkeley is fortunate in that there are no substantial barriers, either natural (such as rivers), or man-made (such as freeways), which would serve to enforce the existence of a racial ghetto, to

physically limit transportation, association, and the ease of moving to other neighborhoods.

The city has a high population density. Its population of 120,000, 35,000 homes, and 300 industries are situated in an area of about nine square miles. *(R20, p. 1)* The community extends about three miles north and south along the Bay, and about three miles east and west from the Bay to the Hills.

Berkeley's racial proportions changed rapidly between 1940 and the mid 1960's. In 1940, there were about 3,000 blacks in Berkeley; by the mid 1960's, the black population had grown to nine times that number. Similarly, the Oriental population quadrupled during that period. In recent years, however, the city's racial composition has stabilized. It is estimated that there are now about 84,000 whites (constituting 70% of the population), 30,000 blacks (25%), and 6,000 members of other racial groups (5%). (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Census of Population for 1940, 1950, 1960 and estimated population for 1966)

Berkeley is considered an attractive place to live, both by its white and most of its black population; surrounding areas are correspondingly less desirable as alternative places to live. Undoubtedly, this was a factor—though its importance can be exaggerated—in explaining the community's willingness to accept quality integrated education rather than to move to other communities. Unlike other urban areas where many children of professional families attend private and parochial

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schools, and where this alternative exists as an "escape hatch" for parents opposing desegregated education, relatively few Berkeley families send their children to them.

The relevance of Berkeley's experience

But does Berkeley's experience with school desegregation have any relevance for other communities? Is the city unique in the liberalizing presence of the University, in its generally well educated population, in its attractiveness as a residential community, in its well organized black community, and in the frequency of interaction and contact between blacks and whites which existed prior to any desegregation attempts?

The question can be answered in part by looking at the evidence which indicates that Berkeley has frequently deviated from its reported liberal posture. In recent years, for example, Berkeley's voters rejected a "fair housing" ordinance, and have consistently supported conservative candidates. Between 1924 and 1962, Berkeley citizens voted against two of six tax levy increase requests and defeated 15 out of 18 bond issues. *(R20, p. 3)* Most pertinent to this discussion, however, is the fact that desegregation of the schools was resisted at each step by a substantial and well organized group of Berkeley citizens. In a recall election to "throw out" the school board which had decided in 1964 to desegregate the junior high schools, approximately 23,000 votes were cast in favor of each of the integrationist board members, while fully 15,000 votes were cast against them.

If Berkeley is unusual in any respect, it is in possessing a large number of active and politically experienced groups representing nearly every segment of the political spectrum, and having a substantial number of citizens interested enough in the public schools to make enormous investments of time, for example, in citizens' committees which advise the school system. It appears that forceful leadership in promoting desegregation was a more important factor in explaining its success than any unique way in which Berkeley may differ from most middle-sized cities across the country.

Portrait of the school system

The racial composition of Berkeley is reflected in its schools. In 1968, a student racial census indicated that the public school system served 7,710 Caucasians (49.6%); 6,665 blacks (42.8%); and 1,167 Orientals (7.5%). Here, as in the community as a whole, there is a recent pattern of racial stability, which suggests the possibility of racial balance for the school system. Berkeley's 15,561 students attend 16 elementary schools (enrollment: 8,717 students); and two junior high schools (serving grades seven and eight), the "west campus" of Berkeley High School, and Berkeley High School, the centrally located high school campus which serves all neighborhoods of the community. (The total secondary enrollment is 6,844.) Although six of the elementary school buildings are more than 40 years old, facilities are generally at least adequate; the per-pupil expenditure in 1967-68 was $988.43 which is relatively high in comparison with state and national figures. The school system is run by an elected five-member school board.

The pattern of defacto segregation

But if Berkeley was generally well served by its schools prior to 1968, it nevertheless very conspicuously manifested a pattern of de facto segregation in its elementary schools—a problem shared by nearly every other urban area in the country containing significant racial minorities. The tradition of neighborhood elementary schools was reinforced by a hiring policy, discontinued in 1959, which generally attempted to match the ethnicity of teachers and students. As Table 1 shows, in 1967 only three of the elementary schools reflected the racial composition of the city. The polar extremes of the de facto segregation pattern in Berkeley were illustrated by the racial composition of the Lincoln School, where 97.4 percent of the students were black, and the Oxford School where 93 percent of the students were white. *(R25, Exhibit B)*

In the spring of 1967, the performance of students in grades one through six on the "paragraph-meaning" section of the Stanford Achievement Test was compared by school and race. Socioeconomic levels and student achievement scores were grouped into low, middle, and high thirds. The major conclusion to be derived from an analysis of these data substantiated a pattern of performance documented in dozens of other cities: black students' test scores were markedly lower than whites. More than half of Berkeley's black elementary students were in the low achievement group; this percentage was about four times greater than the percentage for white and other non-white groups. In contrast, about seven times the proportion of white and other non-whites scored in the highest achievement group compared to the performance of

black students. These data also showed a pattern of significantly higher achievement for black students in the naturally integrated schools as compared to the predominantly black schools. In these predominantly black schools, 66.2 percent of the black students were achieving in the lower third; in the integrated schools of the "Foothills," only 43.3 percent of the black students had scores in the lowest third. *(R15, and R21)*

This pattern of de facto segregation in Berkeley's elementary schools represented a problem which the community decided to confront by adopting its desegregation strategy. In order to enlarge our understanding of the Berkeley desegregation experience, it will be necessary to examine it in its historical context.

Chapter Three

Antecedents to Desegregation

Initial impetus for desegregation—Desegregation of the junior high schools —ESEA busing experience—Attitudes toward elementary school busing, Spring 1966.

No newcomer to desegregation proposals, Berkeley has discussed the issue of desegregation for more than a decade. There are several comprehensive accounts of the period from the early 1950's through 1966. (See VI, References.) It is relevant here only to indicate the extent of those activities, and to mention those which had a direct bearing on the acceptance of desegregation in the elementary schools in September 1968.

Initial impetus for desegregation

The initial impetus for desegregation came from two Berkeley civil rights groups. In 1958, the Berkeley branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People prepared a report on the extent of de facto segregation in the schools and submitted it to the school board. However, there was no substantial response from the school board and four years later the Congress of Racial Equality demanded that the board acknowledge the existence of de facto segregation and take immediate action to remedy the situation. In response, the school board named a citizen's committee, known as the Hadsell committee, which issued a report making two basic recommendations: that elementary schools be desegregated by pairing schools and altering existing boundaries; and that attendance zones be modified in order to accomplish desegregation in grades 7-9. This report triggered widespread community controversy; in its wake, various citizens' committees fighting for and against desegregation were formed. The discussion involved almost every one of the city's political and civic organizations, as well as most of the parent-teacher units.

Berkeley Citizens United issued a statement opposing any sort of integration plan because of anticipated negative effects on the educational quality of the schools; the Parents' Association for Neighborhood Schools brought together people who opposed the plan for various reasons. In response to this activity, the Berkeley Friends of Better Schools was formed to defend the integrationist position. As an index of community interest in the question, two community-wide hearings on the Committee's report were attended by audiences of 1,200 and 2,000.

Desegregation of junior high schools

After extensive debate, an alternative plan was suggested for the junior high schools. This plan, which was ultimately accepted, consisted of turning the predominant black junior high school into a campus for all students in grade nine; attendance boundaries were then redrawn to desegregate the remaining two schools serving grades seven and eight.

On the day of the board vote on these desegregation proposals, the Parents' Association for Neighborhood Schools announced its intention to force a recall election if the schools were desegregated. Nonetheless, the board unanimously approved all but one of the superintendent's recommendations, thus desegregating the junior high schools while tabling indefinitely the proposal to desegregate the elementary schools by means of redistricting. With community tension still very high, it is likely that the recall election would have been successful had it been held in the summer of 1964. But the position of those opposing integration was weakened in the ensuing months—

the two board members who were most actively integrationist resigned and moved to other communities. For professional reasons, the new school superintendent, Neil Sullivan, took a strong position, stating that he would quit if the recall election were successful; and the proponents of desegregation used these several months to mount an effective campaign of support for the board members and the junior high desegregation plan. Finally, a month after the desegregated junior high schools had opened without incident, the recall election sustained by substantial margins the two remaining board members.

ESEA busing experience

In addition to its desegregated junior high schools, Berkeley had limited experience with "token" integration in its elementary schools in 1966. Using ESEA TITLE I funds, a compensatory education program designed to improve the educational opportunities for West Berkeley children was inaugurated. Extra faculty members were hired to reduce the pupil-teacher ratio in these schools to a ratio of better than 26-1. As a consequence of reduced class size, it was necessary to find additional space for about 260 of the boys and girls enrolled in the target schools. These students were transferred by bus to existing vacancies in the North and East Berkeley schools. While the effect was to desegregate most of the city's schools, it remained no more than token integration, since so few Negro children were bused. Those who were bused were carefully chosen: children with emotional problems or those who were likely to create discipline problems were excluded, and children were bused only with their parents' consent.

Attitudes toward elementary school busing, Spring 1966

After the first semester of ESEA busing, a survey of attitudes toward busing and integration was taken among 420 Berkeley mothers, 150 teachers, and 59 children. The results give a clear indication of the tenor of the community immediately before the adoption of the Berkeley Plan. In response to a question about the value of the busing program to their children, 91 percent of the mothers of bused children reported that contact with children from neighborhoods other than their own had been "good," and only one mother reported that the effect of that contact had been "bad." Sixty-five percent of the mothers of children in the receiving classes reported that contact had been "good" for their children; none of the mothers reported that its effect had been "bad." The mothers of bused children were also asked if busing had created problems for the child or the family—84 percent said that busing had caused no problems.

Eighty-five percent of the teachers polled agreed that it was advantageous for children to interact with children of other socioeconomic groups. Eighty-nine percent of the teachers responded "yes" to the question: "Aside from the question of overcrowding, do you favor attempts to achieve greater racial and socioeconomic balance in the schools?"

Further indication of approval of the limited busing program was an interview in which 25 of the 30 bused children questioned said they were "glad" that they had been transferred. And among the receiving-class children, 22 out of 29 children interviewed said that they were glad that the bused children

had been in their classes. *(R19, p. 5-12)* On the whole, it appeared that mothers of children in receiving classes had learned that some of the predicted negative consequences of desegregation had not taken place.

But if the results of this survey indicated a generally favorable response to the limited busing program, the response to a question about the acceptance of reverse busing—the busing of white middle class children to schools in less privileged areas—indicated that Berkeley was still a community which favored only limited busing. Only 27 percent of the mothers with children in the schools with token integration stated that they thought a program of reverse busing would benefit their children, and then only if that reverse busing were voluntary. *(R19, p. 15)*

The ESEA busing program did not represent a comprehensive attempt to solve the problem of de facto segregation; rather, it dealt with only one aspect of the problem through the use of a compensatory education program. But immediately following the recall vote in which Berkeley citizens affirmed the board's belief in integrated schools, the Superintendent of Schools declared his intention to completely desegregate the city's schools. He made this decision with the knowledge that the above-mentioned events were critically important in preparing Berkeley for a fully desegregated school system. In the recall election, which culminated the bitter debate over desegregation, the opposition was at its high water mark. After the defeat of the recall, the effectiveness and strength of

the anti-integration forces diminished significantly. Berkeley's junior high schools had been desegregated without incident, creating a favorable climate for further desegregation. Finally, although ESEA busing had been limited in scope, it provided Berkeley parents with some experience in the busing of elementary school children, even if it did not convince many parents of the advisability of citywide two-way busing.

Chapter Four

Implementing the Berkeley Plan

The policy commitment to elementary desegregation—Community discussion and acceptance of a desegregation strategy—Student preparation for desegregation—Teacher preparation—Community preparation.

Policy commitments to elementary desegregation

While the politics of implementing desegregation are different in every community, Berkeley's experience underlines the crucial role played by politically sensitive and skilled administrators, and of the need to prepare students, teachers, and community for the experience. In the judgment of the superintendent and his staff, the single most difficult problem involved in effecting the Berkeley Plan was not a logistical one, but rather the problem of generating commitment to, and support for, a desegregation strategy. Accordingly, it is useful to review the procedures followed in implementing the Berkeley Plan. *(For readers interested in a very useful detailed chronicle of the process by which Berkeley decided upon its desegregation plan, see R16)*

Community discussion and acceptance of a desegregation strategy

In April 1967, almost three years after Berkeley's junior high schools had been desegregated, a group consisting of the teachers' organizations, leaders of the local NAACP, and other members of the community pressed the board to move toward immediate and total desegregation. In response, the board passed a resolution reaffirming its commitment to desegregation, and promised to desegregate the elementary schools by September 1968. The board considered this policy commitment to be an important tactical decision. By announcing its intention to desegregate the elementary schools before committing itself to any particular strategy, it forced those who opposed desegregation to take their stand in the meetings which took place in the next few months, rather than allowing them to hide behind objections to particular strategies. Dodson, in his analysis of school desegregation experiences in

New York State, concluded that school systems which delivered no public statement on their desegregation policy had at least as much success with desegregation as did those communities in which such a policy statement was made.* However, in the judgment of those involved in Berkeley's experience, this policy statement was one of the reasons for the relative ease with which desegregation was ultimately accepted.

In the following 16 months, the Berkeley plan was developed and implemented, and, at each stage, community members were integrally involved in the planning process. As a first step, school faculties as well as the community at large were asked to suggest ideas and proposals. Within a few months, more than 40 proposals had been received. During the spring and summer months, these plans were discussed in an extensive series of meetings held throughout the community and many Berkeley civic groups, civil rights leaders, government officials, and local PTA officers endorsed elementary school desegregation.

By September, a group of seven staff members who had worked through the summer and had comprehensively considered all the feasible approaches to desegregation, presented proposals for five basic strategies relevant to Berkeley. Again, there were community-wide presentations

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*Dodson, Dan W. *Citizen response to school desegregation.* New York, Council for American Unity, 1969, p. 2, 59.

of these plans; again, school faculties, community groups, and interested individuals registered their reactions.

Finally, a group of teachers and staff members met in a week-long conference to decide upon a specific plan. Copies of that plan were distributed throughout the community. A speaker's bureau was organized to provide community groups with persons who were well informed about the proposed plan. A series of more than 40 meetings were held by such diverse groups as the West Berkeley Neighborhood Council, the NAACP, and the Berkeley Realty Board to discuss its merits and shortcomings. Three community-wide "workshops" were conducted to provide a public forum for discussion. Suggestions arising from these discussions were recorded and incorporated into the final plan.

Throughout this period, opposition to desegregation was still visible in community meetings and the local press. But by 1968, it was evident that the opposition was not as strong as it had been four years earlier in the case of junior high desegregation. On January 16, 1968, the board approved the plan. Discussion of whether and how Berkeley should desegregate ended at this point, and specific plans for September were initiated.

Between the board's decision in January and the opening of schools in September, all the procedural details for the program were formulated. Aside from teacher reassignments, the transfer of textbooks and equipment, and building

renovation, it took fully eight months to design a viable student transportation plan and to coordinate bus schedules. But the preparations which most critically affected the success of the program involved the actual participants: students, teachers, and the community. The district therefore developed a series of activities which attempted to minimize the anticipated problems and frictions in the integration attempt.

The primary rationale for the special student activities which took place during the spring semester in 1968, according to Robert Frelow, the coordinator of the preparatory activities, was to "provide as many interracial experiences as possible for the children of the Berkeley schools prior to September . . . and to permit students to make judgments on the basis of their own experience." *(R16, p. 51)*

Among at least a dozen student activities planned for this purpose were discussion groups conducted in each elementary class on race relations, in which teachers tried to initiate frank discussions about feelings toward people of different races; field trips, which involved students who would be in the same classes the following September; and citywide pupil exchanges. The most extensive program was the Science and Human Relations encampment, a two-day science camp for fifth graders in the wine country to the north of Berkeley, where integrated groups of students participated in science, arts, crafts, drama and music activities.

An Intergroup Youth Council representing pupils from all

fourth and fifth-grade classes was formed. Together, these students planned for projects which could be carried out in the new school setting, and suggested methods to avoid segregation in recreational and sports activities and during lunch periods.

In two of the schools attended by predominantly black students, staff psychologists and guidance counselors supervised sensitivity sessions. Their primary intent was to encourage children to explore their feelings about self-acceptance and self-appreciation.

Although both certified and non-certified staff were included in the staff activities concerned with preparation for the integrated educational situation, most of the activities involved only the elementary level teachers. While there was extensive discussion of appropriate teaching techniques and relevant curriculum, the major purpose of these sessions was to generate among teachers higher expectations of all students. Because teachers were normally confined to a single school, a teacher exchange program was initiated whereby each elementary teacher spent at least one week during the spring semester at a school with a different racial composition. In subsequent discussions with other teachers and in regular training sessions, recurring topics were learning styles, pupil performance, teacher-pupil relations, teacher expectations and discipline problems. Teachers also suggested topics for future inservice training programs. In addition, demonstrations which concentrated on typical problem situations that might occur

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in the desegregated schools were presented. Each of the system's more than 450 elementary school teachers participated in most of these activities throughout the spring semester.

One persistent and critical need following adoption of the plan was the dissemination of information about the schools as well as more specific information about new programs, bus schedules, and the new procedures which busing would entail. The district's Office of Research and Publications produced two tabloid newspapers, and a series of special school reports to provide the community with these facts, and to acquaint them in general with the potential problems of desegration. A week before the opening of the schools, hundreds of volunteers distributed an information bulletin to prevent last-minute confusion about attendance procedures, bus routes, and bus schedules.

In addition, 3,000 parents familiarized themselves first-hand with their children's forthcoming experience by riding the buses they would be riding. During Public Schools Week, parents went not only to the schools their children were then attending, but also to those they would be attending in the fall. Other activities, some initiated by the schools and others by outside organizations, brought parents together in integrated groups to encourage discussion and interaction between people of different races. Each of these reinforced the other efforts to develop community involvement which, as we have seen, had characterized the whole desegregation process in Berkeley.

On September 10, 1968, after eight months of detailed preparations, the buses rolled, and Berkeley became the first city of its size and racial composition to completely desegregate its schools.

Chapter Five

The Berkeley Plan

General objectives—The transportation plan (Defining the attendance zones; The busing service)—The instructional program (the K-3, 4-6 plan; Heterogeneous grouping) New curriculum, staff and student facilities—In-service training of staff—Personnel and budget requirements—Costs.

General objectives

What is the Berkeley Plan? How is it different from other desegregation strategies? It is a plan which includes elements of other desegregation schemes: (pairing of schools within attendance zones and dissolving of former school boundaries to create larger attendance zones). But the Berkeley plan is more than a redefinition of attendance zones, or a new plan for mixing children in different proportions in each of the elementary schools. And, despite the fact that busing is its most publicized aspect, it is more than just a plan for student transportation.

Its most general objective is to create in each classroom a microcosm of the community as a whole. This means heterogeneous grouping understood in its broadest sense. If residential segregation in the community was one factor which perpetuated de facto segregation in Berkeley, homogeneous grouping within the schools was another. The intent of the Berkeley program has been to deal with both. One of the principles of educational philosophy maintains that the school can provide quality education in a classroom reflecting not only the racial and economic composition of the community as a whole, but also a wide range of academic achievement. The plan presupposes a commitment not only to academic excellence, but also to cultural pluralism, to the importance of understanding cultural characteristics and values other than one's own. It also reflects a commitment to an equitable sharing of the burdens of integration. One plan which was suggested would have eliminated the West Berkeley schools, and the predominantly black student

population from the "Flats" would have been bused across town to expand facilities in the East Berkeley schools. This plan for one-way busing, like a plan for voluntary busing, was rejected in favor of a more impartial plan of two-way busing. Although the transportation plan and the instructional program can be discussed separately, they are both integral parts of a comprehensive plan which deals with all of these concerns.

The Transportation Plan

The Berkeley plan is unique among cities its size, not only in busing blacks into predominantly white neighborhoods but also in busing whites into predominantly black neighborhoods. That both blacks and whites would share the burdens of transportation was a policy decision, but the plan's logistics, including decisions about who would attend school where, were decided only after a complex planning procedure.

In order to systematically identify every elementary student in the city not only by his street address, race, and grade level but also by his school achievement characteristics, a census deck of IBM cards was compiled. This information was then recorded on a series of demographic transparencies representing the whole city. Using the transparency for each grade level, it was then possible to visualize the patterns of residence throughout the community, identifying students according to their race and grade level. These data were compared with a table illustrating the city's socioeconomic divisions, which had been relatively stable over a 30-year period. Then, taking into consideration socioeconomic

distribution, racial composition, and the city's relative demographic stability, it was determined that racial balance could be achieved by redefining school boundaries.*

Defining attendance zones

The board's decision that each school reflect the racial composition of the city meant gathering and evaluating all types of information to define school zones. (A tolerance of 10 percent was allowed for such factors as transportation time). Facts on the number of classrooms, their size, and optimum pupil-teacher ratios were collated and the staff defined the new zone boundaries, using the transparencies and computer "print-outs" for each child. While racial balance and heterogeneous student population were the primary goals, other factors such as existing school boundaries, neighborhood organizations, and student safety in getting to schools were taken into consideration. Furthermore, a conjunction of other factors, the racial composition of neighborhoods, the number of students at a particular grade level, and building capacities combined to cause some of the schools to have racial percentages which deviated from the tolerance limits. However, the composition at most schools now more closely conforms to that of the community as a whole. Table 1 shows the racial percentages for each of Berkeley's elementary schools before and after desegregation.

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*Further details of this process can be found in *Integrated Quality Education, A Study of Educational Parks and Other Alternatives for Urban Needs,* A. D. Dambacher and Eileen S. Rygh, Berkeley Unified School District, Berkeley, California 1968.

TABLE 1

RACIAL PERCENTAGE IN BERKELEY'S ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

1a Before Desegregation (1967-1968)

	Caucasian	*Negro*	*Oriental*	*Other*	*Total*
Columbus	137 (18.5)	588 (79.2)	11 (1.5)	6 (0.8)	742
Cragmont	611 (80.9)	100 (13.2)	37 (5.0)	7 (0.9)	755
Cragmont *(annex)*	149 (90.3)	10 (6.1)	5 (3.0)	1 (0.6)	165
Emerson	312 (80.0)	56 (14.3)	19 (4.9)	3 (0.8)	390
Franklin	182 (24.5)	506 (68.0)	37 (4.9)	19 (2.6)	744
Franklin *(annex)*	15 (13.9)	93 (86.1)	0	0	108
Hillside	376 (90.8)	22 (5.4)	10 (2.4)	6 (1.4)	414
Hillside *(annex)*	135 (87.1)	10 (6.4)	7 (4.5)	3 (2.0)	155
Jefferson	328 (45.1)	183 (25.2)	202 (27.8)	14 (1.9)	727
John Muir	443 (91.3)	30 (6.2)	10 (2.1)	2 (0.4)	485
Le Conte	263 (51.7)	182 (35.8)	45 (8.8)	19 (3.7)	509
Lincoln	11 (1.5)	695 (97.4)	5 (0.7)	3 (0.4)	714
Longfellow	54 (6.5)	750 (89.5)	17 (2.0)	17 (2.0)	838
Oxford	356 (93.0)	4 (1.0)	20 (5.2)	3 (0.8)	383
Thousand Oaks	513 (85.4)	63 (10.4)	19 (3.2)	6 (1.0)	601
Washington	265 (41.5)	272 (42.6)	82 (12.9)	19 (3.0)	638
Whittier	392 (71.3)	86 (15.6)	63 (11.5)	9 (1.6)	550
TOTAL	4542 (50.9)	3650 (40.9)	589 (6.6)	137 (1.5)	8918

Source: Memo from Thomas Wogaman to Neil Sullivan, subject: Student Racial Census, Fall '68. Exhibit B. December 3, 1968

1b After Desegregation (19

Columbus	(4-6)
Cragmont	(K-3)
Cragmont *(annex)*	(K-3)
Emerson	(K-3)
Franklin	(4-6)
Franklin *(annex)*	
Hillside	(K-3)
Hillside *(annex)*	(K-3)
Jefferson	(K-3)
John Muir	(K-3)
Le Conte	(K-3)
Lincoln	(4-6)
Longfellow	(4-6)
Oxford	(K-3)
Thousand Oaks	(K-3)
Washington	(K-3)
Whittier	(K-3)
TOTAL	

TABLE 1

RACIAL PERCENTAGE IN BERKELEY'S ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

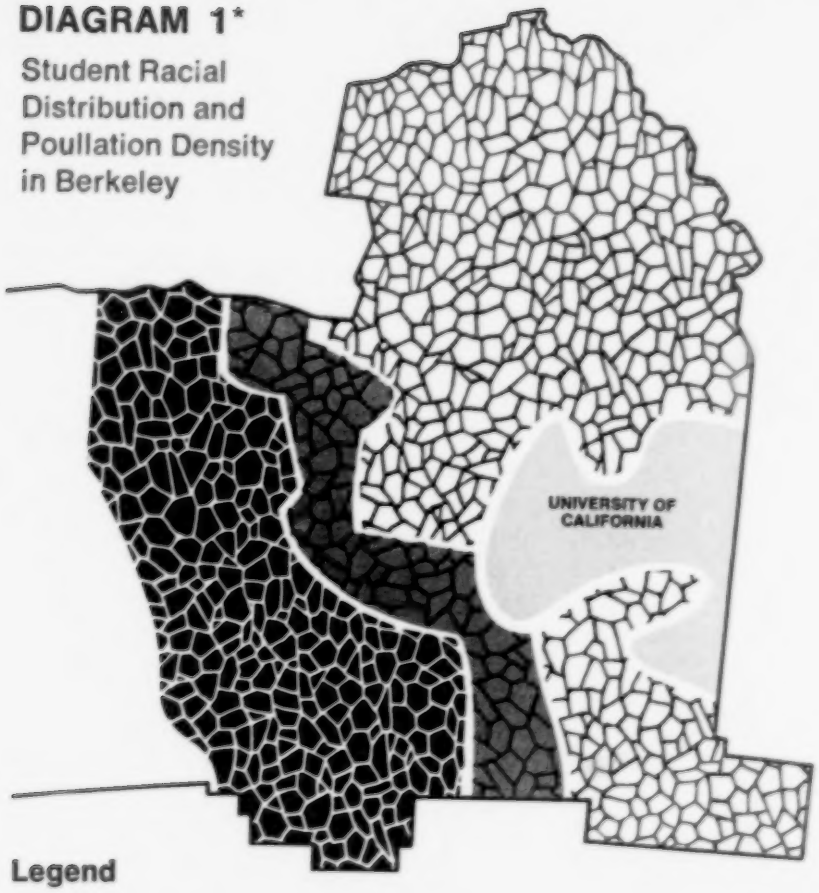
1b After Desegregation (1969)

ntal	*Other*	*Total*			*Caucasian*	*Negro*	*Oriental*	*Other*	*Total*
1.5)	6 (0.8)	742	Columbus	(4-6)	398 (57.6)	258 (37.3)	34 (4.9)	1 (0.2)	691
5.0)	7 (0.9)	755	Cragmont	(K-3)	386 (55.0)	281 (40.0)	31 (4.4)	4 (0.6)	702
3.0)	1 (0.6)	165	Cragmont *(annex)*	(K-3)	64 (55.6)	43 (37.4)	8 (7.0)	0	115
4.9)	3 (0.8)	390	Emerson	(K-3)	168 (48.3)	167 (48.0)	12 (3.4)	1 (0.3)	348
4.9)	19 (2.6)	744	Franklin	(4-6)	409 (45.1)	371 (41.0)	126 (13.9)	0	906
0	0	108	Franklin *(annex)*		*(Facility Not Used for Classrooms)*				
2.4)	6 (1.4)	414	Hillside	(K-3)	228 (55.1)	170 (41.0)	16 (3.9)	0	414
4.5)	3 (2.0)	155	Hillside *(annex)*	(K-3)	87 (48.3)	87 (48.3)	6 (3.4)	0	180
27.8)	14 (1.9)	727	Jefferson	(K-3)	293 (43.7)	255 (38.1)	122 (18.2)	0	670
2.1)	2 (0.4)	485	John Muir	(K-3)	246 (56.3)	181 (41.4)	10 (2.3)	0	437
8.8)	19 (3.7)	509	Le Conte	(K-3)	178 (44.6)	197 (49.4)	21 (5.3)	3 (0.7)	399
0.7)	3 (0.4)	714	Lincoln	(4-6)	391 (49.6)	353 (44.8)	42 (5.3)	2 (0.8)	788
2.0)	17 (2.0)	838	Longfellow	(4-6)	443 (44.3)	486 (48.7)	69 (6.9)	1 (0.1)	999
5.2)	3 (0.8)	383	Oxford	(K-3)	189 (61.0)	113 (36.5)	8 (2.5)	0	310
3.2)	6 (1.0)	601	Thousand Oaks	(K-3)	377 (55.6)	274 (40.4)	25 (3.7)	2 (0.3)	678
12.9)	19 (3.0)	638	Washington	(K-3)	240 (41.4)	286 (49.3)	54 (9.3)	0	580
11.5)	9 (1.6)	550	Whittier	(K-3)	233 (46.6)	236 (47.2)	31 (6.2)	0	500
6.6)	137 (1.5)	8918	TOTAL		4330 (49.7)	3758 (43.1)	615 (7.1)	14 (0.2)	8717

ect: Student Racial Census,

DIAGRAM 1*

Student Racial Distribution and Poullation Density in Berkeley

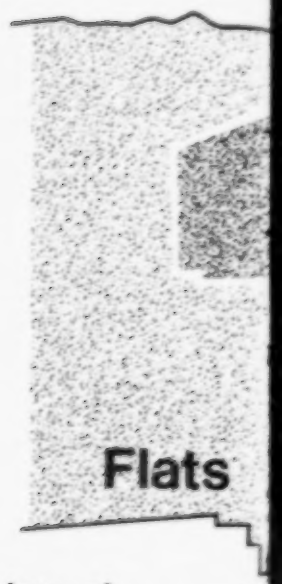


Legend

- Predominantly Negro Population
- Heterogeneous, including most Oriental Population
- Predominantly Caucasian Population

DIAGRAM 2*

Socio-Economic Distribution of Berkeley's Populace



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- Lower Soc.-E

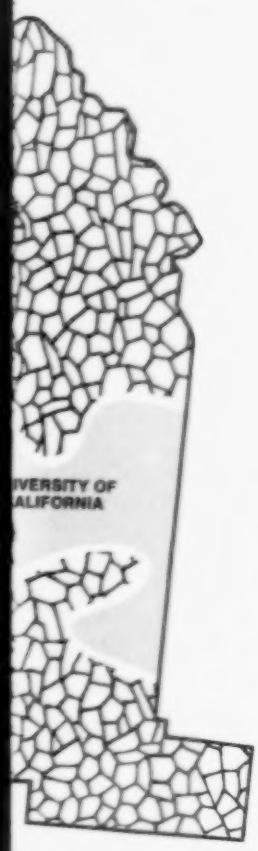

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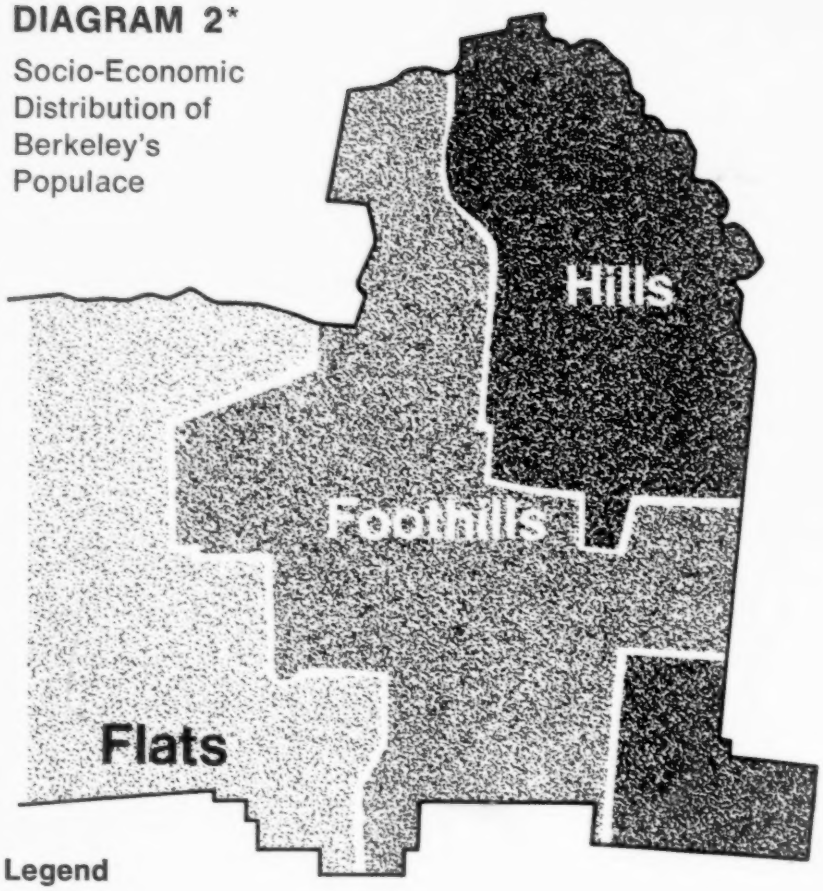
DIAGRAM 2*

Socio-Economic Distribution of Berkeley's Populace



Legend

Lower Soc.-Ec. Area

Middle Soc.-Ec. Area

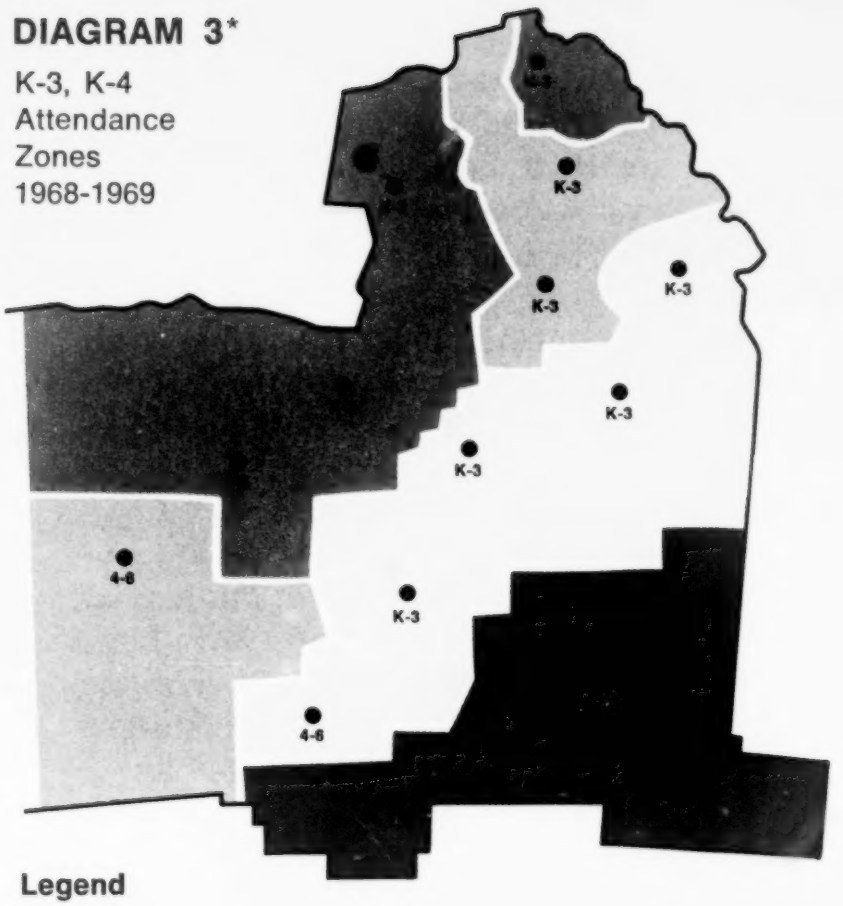
Higher Soc.-Ec. Area

Berkeley's racial divisions
groupings, run roughly No
(See Diagram 1 and 2)

Consequently to insure tha
cross-section of the city's
areas extended roughly Ea
(See Diagram 3)

DIAGRAM 3*

K-3, K-4
Attendance
Zones
1968-1969



*Source: Adapted from *Integra*
Study of Educational Parks and
Needs, A. D. Dambacher and Ei
fied School District, Berkeley, C

Berkeley's racial divisions as well as its major socioeconomic groupings, run roughly North and South through the city. *(See Diagram 1 and 2)*

Consequently to insure that each zone represented a cross-section of the city's population, the new attendance areas extended roughly East and West across the city. *(See Diagram 3)*

*Source: Adapted from *Integrated Quality Education, A Study of Educational Parks and Other Alternatives for Urban Needs,* A. D. Dambacher and Eileen S. Rygh, Berkeley Unified School District, Berkeley, California 1968.

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As a result, Berkeley now contained four elementary-level attendance zones in marked contrast to its former pattern of neighborhood schools.* Within each of these zones, there was one intermediate school serving grades 4-6, and either two, three, or four primary schools serving K-3. Each of the zone areas had roughly the same student enrollment. It was anticipated that the population will remain fairly stable so that similar zone boundaries can be maintained for at least several years. The plan specified that K-3 students living in the area surrounding each K-3 school would continue to attend that school while the K-3 students living in the area surrounding the 4-6 school would be distributed among the K-3 schools in the zone. Consequently, each of the K-3 schools consisted of students residing in two geographic areas within the same zone. Each of the zones was divided so that the areas paired in this manner produced an integrated student population.

The busing service

Like each of the other proposed desegregation strategies for Berkeley, this attendance zone plan, coupled with K-3 and 4-6 student grouping, required extensive busing. According to the California State Code, school systems are reimbursed for the transportation of K-3 students who live further than three-quarters of a mile from the school and for students in grades 4-6 who live further than one mile from school. Hence, approximately 3,500 of Berkeley's 8,717 elementary students were

*It was decided that one of the elementary schools used before desegregation would be abandoned as a regular school facility.

bused daily. The average length of their bus trip was 15 minutes in each direction; routes and zones were planned so that no student would be required to ride longer than 30 minutes. A rotation system was used which allowed the first children on the bus in the morning to be the first off the bus in the afternoon, and vice versa.

The system's Office of Transportation was responsible for defining routes and designating bus stops as well as making contracts for bus services. In cooperation with the city safety engineer, the city Police Department, the California Highway Patrol, and the bus transportation contractor, the district's Transportation Director designed maps to determine which students would walk to school and those who would ride. Next, bus routes were drawn; in most cases, stops were not more than two or three blocks from each student's home. To determine exact time schedules and to anticipate route problems, test runs were made on each of the designated routes.

Because of California cost reimbursement procedures, the district contracted with a private bus company to provide *most* of the necessary equipment. The decision to supplement its own six buses with the services of a contractor was arrived at after a consideration of the advantages resulting from the employment of a contractor with extensive experience and equipment; contracting also allowed the school system to avoid the capital outlay for new equipment.

To reduce bus operating expenses, the Transportation Office

recommended a staggered school schedule. Students in the 4-6 schools in West Berkeley began their school day 30 minutes before K-3 students in East Berkeley. Therefore, each bus had to make a two-way run. Another problem was to devise a bus schedule which permitted children to participate in after-school activities at their school. Buses were provided to transport children who wished to remain for after-school games, clubs, or other activities, or to visit at friends' homes. Maps of bus stops and schedules were distributed before each school year by the Office of Transportation for the convenience of parents and students. *(See Diagram 3 for Zone C)*

For the first few days of each school year, college students and mothers acted as bus aides to assist the drivers. Although the most common problem was the difficulty students had in locating the bus for the return trip from school, bus aides also helped in supervising student behavior and in dealing with problem situations that might have diverted the bus driver's attention.

Teachers cooperated with the program by assisting the younger children in locating the appropriate buses, and by holding classroom discussions about behavior on buses. In addition, the schools distributed a popular pamphet which illustrated bus safety rules in comic strip form.

As Berkeley Superintendent Neil Sullivan noted, when plans for elementary desegregation were first discussed, the primary concern of parents related to the logistics of the busing

program, its safety, and convenience. But, as planning continued and the transportation problems were solved, "the focus [was] less on busing itself and more on what takes place at the end of the bus ride." *(In "Addendum to Integration," p. 5)*

What are the instructional aspects of the Berkeley Plan? In the course of faculty and community deliberations over a desegregation strategy virtually no part of the instructional program remained unexamined. In September 1968, several new instructional programs were added. Some manifested a specific relationship to the problems of maintaining quality education in a desegregated setting while the others had little direct connection to the question of desegregation. In the following analysis, the emphasis will be specifically on those which bear a direct relationship to the desegregation effort.*

After consideration of a number of different organizational prototypes, Berkeley decided upon a plan which would include pupils in kindergarten through grade three in some schools, and grades four through six in others. This plan had a number of advantages, both logistic and educational, over alternative plans:

*Berkeley's instructional program is discussed in more detail in a booklet which was distributed late in 1967: Integration: a Plan for Berkeley. Portions of the following description are summarized from this booklet. *(R5)*

1. The number of children at each grade level in each school is increased because of the reduced number of grades at each school thus allowing for more efficient use of staff and facilities.
2. Class sizes throughout the system tend to be more equal since there are more students at each grade level in every school.
3. Facilities (such as libraries, instructional materials, and playgrounds) can be provided for students at particular grade levels rather than for the whole range of elementary grades, and thus be put to better use.
4. Because schools are paired in each of the attendance zones, parents of different ethnic backgrounds share a common interest in the same school.
5. The plan, in a reasonably equitable fashion, divides the burden of transportation among all children. Each child is bused for approximately half of his elementary years; no child is bused for the entire seven years.

As a result of greater playground space and larger facilities in the Southwest Berkeley schools, it was decided that all children in grades four through six should attend there. Therefore, most black students were transported at a younger age than the students of Central and East Berkeley.

The K-3, 4-6 plan, as in the case with the other prototype plans, contains several disadvantages. In many situations, the plan forced parents to travel further for school activities than they had to previously; but since most families are accustomed to even longer travel distances for other purposes, this was judged to be a relatively minor problem. In some cases, where children from the same family attend two elementary schools, additional complications were created for the parents affected. In addition, the K-3, 4-6 plan posed another problem; since most male teachers are at the 4-6 level, an attempt was made to

retain some males at the K-3 schools by the scheduling of specialists in these schools.

As indicated, the Berkeley plan presupposes a commitment to heterogeneous grouping. The integration proposal specified that students will be grouped heterogeneously by "race, sex, academic performance, and if possible, by socioeconomic level." *(R5, Section III, p. 5)* It further stated that groups "will be formed and re-formed during the day, week, or school year to teach particular skills in cluster groups within the classroom structure or between individual classrooms." Maximum effort was to be made to avoid racially segregated groups within the classrooms and in school activities. In practice this meant that most classrooms consisted of clusters of children working at different levels; however, it did not mean that there were children at each achievement level in every classroom. Throughout the elementary grades, the intention was to individualize the instruction process as much as possible. Class sizes were reduced to an average of 24 in the primary (K-3) schools, and 28 in the intermediate (4-6) schools.

Prior to 1968 the Berkeley schools had many provisions for students who were achieving below grade level; the school system has since continued to reinforce its remedial reading teaching staff, and make use of teacher aides in an attempt to give low achievers as much help as possible.

During the first year two new facilities were added in the

intermediate schools serving grades four through six. "Learning Laboratories" in each of these schools were equipped with special materials and staffed by a teacher-specialist. As the district described these labs, they were places where a child could contract with the teacher-specialist to make special studies in any subject area. "The teacher would guide the pupil in his activities, assist him in the selection of materials and encourage him to experiment creatively with his ideas." *(R5, p. 22)*

Student centers were also established in each of the intermediate schools. Their purpose was to provide a place for the child "under stress" whose behavior interrupted the normal classroom procedure. These Centers were staffed by a teacher, an aide, and were augmented by the services of a psychologist or guidance worker.

Inservice training of staff

The district also expanded its curriculum offerings so that they more closely reflected the cultural diversity of the schools. While the emphasis throughout the elementary years was still on reading and communication skills, new additions to the curriculum included a unit on Negro history for fifth graders, and an expanded music program beginning at grade three. Multi-graded classrooms, team teaching and other special programs which required additional supportive staff, emphasize the school systems commitment to maintain quality education in an integrated setting. The program of staff inservice training which began during the spring of 1968, has continued to stress the following areas:

1. How to raise student expectations and academic achievement.
2. How to teach all content-areas effectively in heterogeneous classes.
3. How to increase staff understanding of different racial and cultural groups. *(R14, p. 10)*

In a program which is mandatory for all staff, minority history and culture was taught.

As noted, many of the tasks entailed in this desegregation program were the responsibility of the regular teaching and administrative staff and were therefore absorbed into the regular school programs and budget. However, these new positions were specifically created for the transportation program:

- *Transportation Officer*—Duties include the supervision of the busing program; coordination of busing program with academic program; general supervision of busing contractor and staff.

- *School Bus Operations Supervisor*—Duties include the planning and scheduling of school transportation routes; making of adjustments to accommodate the individual pupil's hours; scheduling of equipment for additional transportation requested by schools: for example, field trips and other activities; supervision of storage and maintenance procedures for equipment; supervision of personnel who operate equipment; filing operational reports to the Transportation Office; filing reports of any accidents.

- *Account Clerk*—Duties include the compilation of operation costs and statistics for state reimbursement procedure; preparation and distribution of bus maps and schedules.

- *Bus Drivers*—Duties include the driving of buses on scheduled and non-scheduled runs; maintenance of records of operation; inspection of vehicles.

- *Bus Aides*—(As indicated, bus aides are hired only for the first few days of each school year). Duties include instructing children in getting to appropriate buses.

In addition to these positions created within the school system's Office of Transportation, the contractor's office includes clerks, a safety officer, a driver trainer, a route supervisor, and repair shop personnel.

The costs for the first year of the program were considerably higher than costs for the next. It should be noted that the following cost estimate includes the expense of moving books, furniture, equipment, and building renovation costs. Moreover, in order to make several of the converted buildings conform to the Fire Marshal's requirements for K-3 schools, substantial building modifications were made.

First-year Costs of Integration Program

—Inservice Training of Teachers	$ 37,500
—Moving of Books, Furniture, Equipment	14,000
—Modular Units and Building Renovation	57,790

—New equipment, Learning Labs	14,000
—Transportation (including salaries)	259,862
—Fire Marshal Requirements	205,000
Total Cost	$588,152

Costs for the transportation program for 1969-70 were budgeted at $327,000. This amounted to an expenditure of approximately $.50 per day or $90.00 per year for each student bused. In other words, the total cost of the transportation program amounted to approximately two percent of the total operating expenses of the school system during each year.

Chapter Six

Evaluation of the Berkeley Program

Main objective achieved—Safety of busing program—Lack of the predicted negative consequences—Student achievement records—Community participation.

There is no simple criterion by which the success of a program such as the Berkeley plan can be judged. The main objective was to maintain quality education in an integrated setting. The other goals were, and are, to increase acceptance among students of racial and cultural differences; to encourage more positive attitudes among parents about people of different races; to encourage teachers to have equal and appropriately high expectations of both black and white students; and, as a consequence, to bolster the self-esteem and achievement levels of many black students. Each of these is an important effect of desegregation; it would be a mistake to emphasize the importance of one at the expense of the others. In particular, it is a mistake to give too much emphasis and importance to the academic achievement scores, with an eye to the research which indicates that black students achieve at higher levels in an integrated setting. At the time of this writing, the Berkeley plan has been in effect for three semesters. It would be foolish to look for significant changes in academic achievement of black students during this short period; whatever academic benefits may accrue will undoubtedly take longer than a single year to become evident.

Although some of the effects of the Berkeley plan are readily observable, others are difficult to observe and impossible to measure without the help of comprehensive surveys and extensive analyses of testing results. Unfortunately the comprehensive survey and continued evaluation of the effects of desegregation upon attitudes of pupils, teachers, and parents, and the effects upon student achievement which was planned

two years ago was aborted in its early stages.

Safety of busing program

One evaluation exists, based upon the assessments of change made by parents. One year's experience with the busing program indicates that parental concern about the logistics and safety of two-way bus trips for 3,500 students each day was misplaced. In the words of a 1966 report by the California Highway Patrol, "The safest ride in California continues to be by school bus." *(R5, p. 25)* Because of stringent state regulations for school bus equipment and elaborate procedures which ensure the safety of the children and the community, the accident rate in buses is much lower than for walking, riding a bicycle, or riding in the family car to school.

Main objectives achieved

Several effects are, however, unequivocal. The main objective of the Berkeley plan was to end de facto segregation in the elementary schools and to produce in each classroom a racial balance mirroring, as closely as possible, the racial composition of the whole community. This, as we have shown in Table 1, has been accomplished. For the school year 1968-69, no elementary school had fewer than 36.5 percent blacks while none had more than 49.4 percent. No school had fewer than 41.4 percent white students, nor more than 61 percent. Despite early and virulent opposition, and the continued presence of vocal and active groups representing every part of the political spectrum, desegregation in the Berkeley schools is an accomplished and accepted fact.

More important, Berkeley has thus far experienced none of the

Lack of predicted negative consequences

effects which the critics of busing predicted, such as a white exodus from the schools and the community, massive teacher turnover, and the diminution of community support for the schools. A comparison of the student census for each of the four years from 1965 through 1968 shows that there was a small but discernible drop in the number of whites in the elementary schools in 1968. While it is not as large as the average annual decline in the number of white students prior to 1965, it does represent a break from the recent trend which inclined toward stabilization of the white school population. In 1966, there were 98 more white students in Berkeley elementary schools thain in the previous year; in 1967, there were five fewer than in 1966. For each of these years the white enrollment figures at the junior high and high schools approximated these tendencies. But in 1968, the first year of elementary school desegregation, 212 fewer white students were enrolled in elementary schools than in 1967; during this same period, white enrollment at the junior highs and high schools increased slightly. These figures suggest that some white parents, although relatively very few, either removed their children from the public elementary schools or moved from the community. The dimensions certainly do not suggest those of a mass exodus. *(R25, Exhibits A, B, C, D)*

The teacher turnover rate, rather than increasing, has decreased. In the fifties, the turnover rate of the Berkeley teaching staff ranged from 16 to 20 percent annually. Since then, the turnover rate has declined steadily. For the academic year 1968-9 it was about 10 percent *(R14, p. 3)* Factors other

than desegregation were important influences on this rate. For instance, Berkeley began a national teacher recruitment effort in 1967; and in the last few years, because of the influence of the superintendent and the fact that the Berkeley schools have achieved a national reputation, the number of applications for teaching openings has been rapidly increasing. As of November 1969, the personnel office reported that it had received over 5,600 applications for 135 openings. But the figures, despite the influence of factors other than school desegregation, clearly show that there was no erosion of school staff when the Berkeley school system desegregated.

Although there have been no bond issues submitted for voters' approval in Berkeley since September 1968 which might offer concrete evidence of the community's continued willingness to support the schools, interviews with parents, teachers, and community leaders suggest that there is currently widespread support for the schools and a shared belief that they can provide quality public education.

Student achievement records

The achievement and aptitude scores available from Berkeley's Office of Evaluation do not allow any definitive answers about the effects of desegregation upon the academic growth of black and white students. It was only for the academic year 1968-69 that the Office of Evaluation began to analyze achievement scores by racial sub-groups. Nevertheless, several general statements can be made about student achievement scores over the past few years.

In the following analysis, the scores for the Stanford Achievement Test in arithmetic will be disregarded since the test norms were established for students receiving traditional instruction in math. Scores on achievement in arithmetic are markedly below the publisher's norm. This can probably be explained by the fact that the test is a very inaccurate measure of the ability of students who are taught the "new math" in the Berkeley schools.

As Table 2 shows, the aggregate reading score gains made between spring 1968 (immediately before desegregation), and spring 1969 (after students had been in desegregated schols for almost two semesters), for the average Berkeley student is close to the national norm. The Berkeley Office of Education reported achievement for the first, second and third grades on the basis of a 10-month academic year; and for fourth, fifth and sixth grades on a 9-month year.

TABLE 2 (R 13)

STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST

Reading Gains From Spring 1968 to Spring 1969

Grade	*Mean Gain (In Months)*	*Q3 Gain (In Months)*	*Med. Gain (In Months)*	*Q1 Gain (In Months)*
First	10 / 10	13 / 10	8 / 10	5 / 10
Second	10 / 10	12 / 10	12 / 10	5 / 10
Third	9 / 10	12 / 10	9 / 10	8 / 10
Fourth	9 / 9	13 / 9	8 / 9	6 / 9
Fifth	8 / 9	11 / 9	8 / 9	7 / 9
Sixth	8 / 9	10 / 9	10 / 9	6 / 9

The Stanford Achievement Tests in reading, for each of the primary grades, reveal that the average Berkeley student was reading at about grade level. But a comparison of test scores taken during fall 1968, and the following spring, demonstrated one possible effect of desegregation upon student achievement. Sixth graders' scores in the fall 1968 SAT reading test were five months lower than the publisher's mean score. When the same test was administered the following spring, the average score was just one month below grade level. In other words, during the six month period between tests, the average student gained ten months in reading ability. As Berkeley's Director of Evaluation, Dr. Arthur Dembacher, has suggested, these low fall test scores were probably a reflection of students' adjustment problems in newly desegregated schools. *(R12, p. 6-13)*

These test scores also showed the continuation of a pattern which had been characteristic of the Berkeley schools: the spread between lower and upper quartile scores increased at successively higher grade levels. Looking at the reading scores for the years 1967 through 1969 for differing grade levels, the data showed that the cumulative deficit of the lower quartile was not being overcome. Conversely, however, neither was there any change in the tendency of students in the upper quartile to achieve scores which were progressively greater than the national norms at higher grade levels. *(R12, p. 7-8)*

Turning from the aggregate achievement scores to the academic growth of black and white students from May 1968

through 1969, one general observation can be made. Table 3 indicates the growth scores, from May 1968 through 1969, on the SAT reading test for third graders by school and by race.

In each school, the grade equivalent growth of blacks was lower than the average rate for white students. Similar tables for the other grade levels exhibited the same general pattern.

TABLE 3 (R 13)

STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST (Reading)

Third Grade Growth by School and by Race (May 1968 - May 1969)

	WHITE		*BLACK*		*OTHERS*
	Mean Gains In Years	*(N)*	*Mean Gains In Years*	*(N)*	*Mean Gains In Years*
Cragmont	.8	69	.7	43	.7
Emerson	.8	26	.7	33	1.0
Hillside	1.3	45	.9	35	.6
Jefferson	1.0	37	.5	38	.8
John Muir	1.1	80	.6	61	.9
Le Conte					
Oxford	1.3	32	1.1	11	3.5
Thousand Oaks	.8	58	.6	49	1.9
Washington	1.0	22	.6	46	.7
Whittier	1.0	33	.4	32	.7
Tilden	.7	10	.6	8	1.6
Gr. Peak	.8	14	.6	9	.1
District	.9	426	.6	365	.8

Thus there was no consistent relationship between academic growth rates and racial percentages within the schools or the particular location of the school, whether in a predominantly black or white neighborhood. At the same time, it should be stated that the grade equivalent growth figures among different classrooms in the same school varied more than the aggregate growth scores among the different elementary schools in the Berkeley system. *(R11, Table II)*

On the basis of these achievement scores, a few general statements can be made about the effects of desegregation upon acedemic achievement in Berkeley's elementary schools. The most recent achievement tests were administered in May 1969, when Berkeley's elementary schools had been desegregated for slightly less than two semesters. For this brief period, there is no evidence that student achievement patterns have significantly changed from what they were prior to elementary school desegregation. Some achievement scores were unusually low during the first semester of desegregation; most of this deficit was corrected during the second semester of desegregation. There is no evidence to suggest that the achievement scores of white or black students have substantially changed during the first year of desegregation. The long-term effects of desegregation upon student achievement will have to wait for assessment when further testing is completed.

But, even acknowledging the importance of such factors as student achievement scores and teacher turnover rates in

evaluating the effects of desegregation, there are other important questions to consider for which there are no tangible evaluation data. What effect, for example, did the zone pattern and the pairing of attendance areas within the district have on community participation patterns, and on parent participation in the schools? How do teachers and principals assess the effects of desegregation upon the classroom climate? And how has desegregation influenced the attitudes of parents and teachers about the schools, and interracial contact? Lacking the comprehensive attitude surveys which were to have been a part of the aborted evaluation study, principals, teachers, and parents throughout the school system and the community were interviewed for some answers, however tentative, to these questions.

Community participation

While desegregation, the physical mixing of black and other minority group students with white students in Berkeley's elementary schools, was effected in September 1968, the process of effecting true integration continues. Both teachers and principals reported, for example, that during the first semester of desegregation, there was considerable tension among students. Most of the schools, including those which were already naturally desegregated, reported more than the normal number of fights among students. One principal referred to this first semester as the "shakedown period," a period during which black students first began to adopt a more verbal style of aggression. Several teachers noted that whereas a certain amount of fighting in the formerly segregated schools was taken for granted, fighting in the integrated schools was

interpreted in racial terms by anxious teachers and parents. At any rate, most teachers and principals agreed that after a year's experience in desegregated schools, there was less tension among students, fewer fights, and fewer discipline problems.

Teachers were in basic agreement that the climate of the desegregated classroom resulted in a more exciting and challenging place for both blacks and whites. The white students generally benefited from a greater variety of experiences; black students responded to the new competition of their white peers, and many in the process lost their feelings of relative intellectual inferiority. In each of the schools, there was evidence of increased camaraderie among black and white students. While neighborhood friendship patterns were still very much in evidence, most of the teachers reported birthday parties where both black and white children were invited and the mutual visiting of homes, although it was more common for black children to visit their white classmates' homes than vice versa. One of the intermediate school principals reported that in recent student council elections, the chosen leadership was racially balanced.

But if these are indications of the beginning of true integration, there was other evidence of continued patterns of student segregation. After-school playground activities for example, were still very much segregated. Despite the efforts of the Office of Transportation to provide late buses for those students who wished to participate in after-school activities, most

students still took buses home immediately after school. One principal reported, that although "Hill" children stayed in the intermediate school after classes for Boy Scout meetings, they didn't stay for playground activities because the presence of older children who hung around the playground was perceived as a danger. Among parents, despite the very wide participation of individuals representing virtually all groups within the community in the process of planning and effecting desegregation, there was an underrepresentation of black parents in school-related activities such as Public Schools Week and PTA membership and attendance. There was, however, some evidence that parents took a wider interest in the community than they formerly did. Since the school zones cut across neighborhoods many elementary school parents now had children in two elementary schools, and could no longer be proprietary toward one only.

Desegregation is an accomplished and accepted fact in Berkeley. Even its former critics and opponents are now working within the context of a desegregated school system. Furthermore, in the 1969 school board election, those condidates who were educationally conservative, opposing, for example, Black Studies and increased school expenditures, assumed that desegregation in Berkeley would continue, and therefore it was not a campaign issue. Although there is evidence that the long-range social integration of black and white elementary students has not yet been effected in its fundamental objectives, the first step—the Berkeley Plan for school integration—has been successfully accomplished.

Chapter Seven

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